42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

854 times spread under them, clothes used to wipe or clean them, occasional wrappers, etc., have to be washed inside the house. If they were washed in the river or brook, which is the customary place for that kind of work, the Isneg firmly believe that the child would die a premature death.

855 291 Later on, when a few years old, the child wears a little dress, whenever possible, and when a girl has attained perhaps her fourth or fifth year, the first piece of the customary Isneg outfit that is given to her is the *kalaŋkáŋ*, a string around the waist, which she wears under her little dress if she has any, and which will be used afterwards to insert the *talút* or G-string. In many cases a boy will be given an ordinary Isneg *bádo* or coat long before he wears the *abág* or G-string. But more of this for some other chapter.

2. *Abnormal Cases*

845 I shall now consider a few extraordinary cases.

Posthumous children, which of course are comparatively rare, are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, treated in exactly the same way as other children, and the Isneg do not seem to look upon the matter as anything out of the ordinary.

Nothing special is to be noted with reference to a child who dies in its mother's womb, and with reference to a mother who dies before her child is born; in such cases the Isneg have no means of saving the survivor, and the same rites are observed as in the case of the death of an ordinary adult. A mother who cannot bring forth her child is said to be *matalánăn* or *masaltán* (the latter term also means "to be stopped", for instance, a bottle, etc.). The only practice the Isneg resort to in such a case is the *mazanito*, which is customary with any kind of sickness.

847 Voluntary abortion seems to be neither known nor practised. Here of course one is treading upon dangerous ground when inquiring into the matter, but nevertheless it was told me very emphatically by persons whose entire confidence I possessed that such practices were never resorted to. Do not some Isneg at least know about it, and does it not happen occasionally in some spot or another of the extensive Apayaw district? I do not know. It should be taken into consideration though that to the Isneg all children are welcome, and even in the case of a child that would be born out of wedlock, its premature death would not save the girl from the anger of her parents, nor the boy from his duty to marry the girl or to suffer some terrible punish-

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

524 865 After this the patient takes his turn in playing the rôle of agent, and all excitement, and perhaps filled with a spirit of revenge, he will try to elicit even more applause than his predecessor by the gracefulness and abundance of his contortions, and by the keenness of his final blow. Sometimes both men repeat the performance once and again, and even several times in succession; but the general rule is one slap to each individual.

All the time some of the bystanders are challenging one another to a similar combat and as soon as the two customary blows have been struck, or in case the same two men played the *bisndg* several times in succession, as soon as these are tired or otherwise stop slapping one another, the next pair takes to the platform.

B. MENTAL EDUCATION

212 868 Let us now turn to the question of mental education. Here at least we meet with a kind of formal training. To make the matter very simple, I shall begin by mentioning the fact that the Isneg have no system of writing, and there is consequently no room for teaching anything concerned with either reading or writing; and, whereas there are no recognized hereditary chiefs among them, all children are practically on the same level. But all of them have to learn the spoken language of the people, and without the help of someone to teach them, most youngsters would remain ignorant of a good many terms that every decent Isneg should know. Moreover such knowledge has to be imparted to them at the earliest opportunity.

868 855 Here the mother, without being recognized specifically as a teacher, takes upon herself to instruct her child as soon as it begins to be able to talk. She tells it the names of articles of furniture, animals, trees, and whatever comes in their way. This is done formally, but not systematically. I mean that the mother really teaches her child, but she does this only on the occasion of meeting the object whose name she wishes her baby to know. The father also does not fail to teach his boys, who have attained the age at which they leave the usual company of their mother and follow their male parent, the names of some objects of which they might still be ignorant, for instance the names of constellations, and more especially the names of places, brooks, etc., which they meet on their way while travelling. Even in the case of small children of both sexes, the father gladly plays the instructor, whenever there is some occasion to do so, although as a rule the mother is supposed to impart most of that kind of training

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

to the members of the younger generation. It is she indeed who is the most steady companion of the little ones and who naturally has the greatest influence over them; and in the case of girls, this companionship and influence continue for a comparatively long time.

C. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

With reference to vocational training, the Isneg, probably unconsciously aware of the fact that mere theoretical teaching rarely amounts to anything, have only one way of imparting knowledge in this line, namely, by showing how to do things. Nevertheless their children have two ways of getting it, by imitating what they see and by working under the direction of people who give them formal instruction. The two ways are rather sharply defined, some kinds of work being exclusively learned by imitation and practice, while others are first formally taught and shown and then practised. Before enumerating the different occupations of the Isneg, and stating whether they are practised by boys or by girls and whether they are learned by pure imitation or by formal instruction, I should like to make a few preliminary remarks.

In general it should be said that whenever there is question of formal instruction among the Isneg, a boy is taught exclusively by his father and a girl by her mother. Other persons take the place of the parents only in case of the latters' premature decease, and even then women confine their instruction to girls and men to boys. The reason of this separation of the sexes is not far to seek: every Isneg strictly keeps to the occupations commonly performed by his or her own sex, and so the children necessarily get their knowledge also from persons of their own sex. Recently I had a little conversation with an Isneg widower which very well illustrates the matter:

He: "I am a very poor man."

I: "Poor? How can you be poor when you have so much fertile soil at your disposition?"

He: "Yes, but I have no wife."

I: "Does that make any difference?" [I knew it did, of course, but I wanted to hear him tell me so].

He: "Well, certainly; I need a woman to till my fields."

I: "Now, is that a reason? Are you not healthy and strong enough to do that yourself?"

He: "How could I do that? Do you expect me to plant the seeds and grub up the weeds?"

42 Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

869 to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times
538 all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

869 The cry "*udôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young
517 people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the ex-
538 clamation "*udôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the
[273] attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories: nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world
[602 alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or
855] grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

869 How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between
787 good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted
[602 purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indis-
855] pensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

577 When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men
121 who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

or pulling the ears, in pinching any part of the body. There is no question of kicking, of forbidding to eat, of ordering to abstain from amusements or feasts. A punishment that is rather common among the Isneg is to shame the children by talking to others about their misbehavior or their bad conduct: such a punishment rarely fails to induce the child to amend its ways. Food taboos are very common with reference to women; for men I know none. Thus, women do not eat eels, lest they become blind; they abstain from dog meat, monkey, etc.; but the aim of these prohibitions is certainly not that of influencing their moral conduct or inuring them to hardship: so this is not the place to explain them any further.

Corporal punishments are almost always used when the child, whether a boy or a girl, is caught stealing or lying; it is occasionally resorted to when the child is disobedient or disrespectful. Other more severe punishments, such as the robbing of valuables, divorce, etc., have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages. Scolding is of course much more frequent than any other punishment. Spare the rod, spoil the child, is a proverb unknown to the Isneg; in my opinion they use the rod very sparingly: it is often sufficient for a child to say: "*Maddiyā-* (I do not want)", to be left undisturbed, and to cause the parent to refrain from any further insistence. Here I have to repeat again one of my former statements: it is not the guilt that counts, but the result; so a boy may refuse to obey, and if it really makes no difference, the parent allows him to do what he likes; but if he has stolen something or refuses to help his father, that is another question; here the power of the rod will be invoked almost without exception.

Isneg parents love their children very much, and the easiest way to break down an Isneg parent's stubbornness or aloofness is to show a smiling face to the little ones, to say a nice word to them or to give them a little present. The aim of every grown-up boy and girl is to beget children; his offspring is the Isneg's most precious treasure. A houseful of boys and girls, children and grandchildren, is an invaluable and most esteemed boon; they are a crown avidly coveted by every Isneg man and woman. An Isneg father has a thousand ways of showing his affection to his children: if they are still small he will play with them for hours at a time; later on he will patiently forbear the boy's unhandiness while he is helping him at work, and still later he will see to it that he grows up a virtuous young man. The mother will do the same with boys and girls alike until the time

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*maxalúmid*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer; and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

731 858 597 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers, not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 867 184 124 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the proper moral upbringing of children, if some families are more religious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 184 836 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Ineg

855
184
836

at night and that the owners had allowed him to do so. He immediately set out for Kabugaw, firmly intent in claiming his daughter back, and he only desisted from his purpose after he had been convinced that the rumor was entirely unfounded. On the other hand another Baliwanan girl was allowed to follow a Kagayan into another village and to live maritally with him for a certain period of time, after which she came back home.

Go to another near-by settlement: some parents object to their daughters going to school for reasons given in the introduction of this paper, while others allow them not only to go to school but even to live at the house of the teacher.

Let us pass over to Talifugu. A girl becomes pregnant, and the case is dropped. The same man, a Kagayan, deflowers another girl with the same result, and he is left no peace until he marries her.

At Dagara: a girl has the reputation, which I understand to be deserved, of being of very loose morals; she is left all liberty by her parents; while the generality of the Dagara girls behave as decently as anywhere else.

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I twice assisted at a small Isneg sacrifice, once at Ampaw and once at Abbil. In the former place, everything went on as if it were the most serious and most important act that could be performed by an Isneg: all details were attended to with the utmost earnestness and accuracy; while at Abbil, the whole ceremony seemed rather to be considered as an irksome duty: it looked like a joke when compared with the Ampaw case. It must be conceded that the Abbil people were more or less ill at ease on account of my presence; but I was equally present at Ampaw, and in the latter place I was even sitting much nearer the shaman than at Abbil, nevertheless the shaman and her helpers never flinched.

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I have little chance to read books on anthropology, but I understand it has been stated in some of them that primitives think in common, that among primitives every community has something like one mind for all individuals; how exactly the books express it I do not know, but I am sure that my readers who know about it, understand what I mean. Now, I know nothing at all from personal experience about primitives living in other parts of the world, but with reference to our Mountain people, whether Negritos or Malays, Kankanay or Isneg, I dare say that anybody who would pass a few weeks among them, would not have to take the trouble any more to form an opinion on the subject or to try to frame some theory, the

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuríra-*, *kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

825 other monkeys should have noticed how sweetly she sang, they would surely always call upon her to sing again and again for them.

Not knowing the deceit in the monkey's invitation, she promptly presented herself before the mother monkey. After she had sang several songs, father monkey appeared and took hold of the crow. He patted her and said: "You sing so well." Then he began to choke her until she became unconscious. Father monkey let her loose and said: "Now you may sing. I think that you can sing better now." The crow tried to sing; but all she could utter was "wack-wack": so that all the monkeys laughed at her.

Up to this day the crow still sings "wack-wack."

THE ORIGIN OF THE HAWK

Many, many years ago there was an only child of a man and a woman. The child was about six years old. This small boy became very hungry and went [855] to his father, asking for sugar cane. His father was very angry at being disturbed in his work; but he had to get the sugar cane because his son cried so. Then the boy asked his father to peel his sugar cane; but the man refused and instead, sent him to his mother to do it. The small boy ran to his mother to get it done; but she sent him back to his father to do as he wished. The child was kept running back and forth.

The sixth time that the child ran, he become very tired and began to cry bitterly. Then he said to himself, "How I wish that I would become a hawk so that